

SOME
REMARKS
Upon the ABSTRACT of
Mr. Sheppard's
DISCOURSE
T O
His Congregation

On the Thirtieth of January 1723
Printed in the *Ipswich-Journal*,
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For the Proprietor T. S. S.



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SOME REMARKS, &c.

 R. Sheppard's Discourse seems to have been first delivered, and the Abstract, or Epitome therent to have been publish'd by himself, or some of his Friends, in order to recommend his Abilities, to prejudice and incense his Hearers against those Clergymen of the Church of England, who in their Sermons on that Day, express a becoming Detestation of the execrable Wickedness that was thereon committed, and to create in the Minds of such as are unacquainted with the History of those Times, a more favourable Opinion of his Party and their Principles, than they have hitherto entertain'd, or than is consistent with Truth, or Prudence to admit of. And the design of these Remarks is to defeat his unreasonable, and unjust Purposes, by proving, that, what he calls a Sermon, is a

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very weak, and empty, as well as sinful Performance, and that his Charge against the Clergy of the Establish'd Church, is in general False and Uncharitable.

And in the first Place the Text he pitch'd upon was very improper for that Occasion, and the choice thereof may fairly be ascribed to the prevailing Influence, of Arrogance, and Malice. Had I introduced these Remarks with the Words of the Psalmist, the 52d Psalm, the 2d, 3d, and 4th Verses, *Thy Tongue deviseth Mischiefs: Like a sharp Razor, working deceitfully. Thou lovest Evil more than Good: And lying rather than to speak righteousness. Thou trust all devoting Words, O thou deceitful Tongue.* What a tragical out-cry should we have heard, of my want of Meekness and Moderation? How should I have been branded for furiousness of Temper, and slanderous Railing? And yet, as I shall evince in the course of these Remarks, he has given too just Provocation, and I might have offered a much more solid Apology for treating him in such a Manner, than he will ever be able to do, for his rude, and base Reflections upon the lawful Ministers of that Church, from which he has cut himself off, by a causeless, and sinful Schism: But perhaps some Men claim a peculiar Privilege, to abuse, and Libel their Adversaries in Scripture Phrases, and afterwards to wipe their Mouths, and say they have done no Wickedness. What could be intended by this Text, but to mislead the Audience to apply the Reproof of the Prophet, to the Legislature which enacted, and still observes this Anniversary Fast, as well as the Clergy who Minister therein, in Obedience to that Authority which decreed this Solemnity.

temple, and that Wisdom which prescribed an Office adapted to a truly devout Humiliation, an Office that may both exalte and express our Sorrow, and sincere Repentance, and wherein we may deprecate the Divine Vengeance, which almost always pursues such horrible Abominations with temporal Judgements.

I appeal to any Candid Examiner, whether the Text would not, in common Construction, appear to be pointed by him, more directly against the Institution, and Celebration of the Fast it self, than against the Misbehaviour of any particular Persons thereupon, for the irregularities of any Ministers in their Discourses, are foreign to the Fast. The Worship is already settled, and the Minister is not allowed to deviate from it; his own Composure is the least part of the Duty of the Day, though by the foolish Custom of setting such an extravagant value upon Sermons, it is now chiefly regarded. Nay, a Discourse set forth by Authority is recommended, viz. the first and second Parts of the Homily against Disobedience, and wilful Rebellion, and tho' it be referred to the Determination of the Person who officiates, whether he will make use of That, or deliver one of his own Composing, yet still the Subject is limited, and he is enjoyned to insist on the same Argument: Now supposing some rash, and fiery Spirits should exceed all due bounds, and take indecent Liberties, they are accountable to their Superiors for their Offence, or may be admonished of their Errors, by a reasonable and gentle Reproof from a private Hand. But no one can with Equity or any colour of Truth, under the pretence of chastising such prohibited, and criminal excess,

es, assume to himself a Power of casting general Reflections upon us, in these Words of *Isaiah*, the 58th Chapter and the 4th Verse, *Behold ye Fast for Strife and Debate, and to smite with the Fist of Wickedness, &c.* For these involve in the same black Accusation, the Rulers who appointed, and the People who conscientiously celebrate the Fast, and the Preachers who with meekness and fervency exhort their Flocks to cast away all their Transgressions, and to turn from such Iniquities more especially, as were notorious in that Age, in which this unhappy Kingdom was visited with these deplorable Calamities, and which manifestly brought them upon us, and to make them a new Heart and a new Spirit, as well as those who, as he invidiously pretends, take this opportunity to deal out their Satyr and Investives.

The Prophet in this Chapter reproves the Children of *Israel* for their shameless Hypocrisy, and ostentation of Devotion, and their sharp Expostulations with Almighty God, because he did not deliver them out of their Distress, upon their Fasting, and Prayers, and he informs them why these were fruitless, and unavailing, *Behold in the Day of your Fast you find Pleasure, and exact all your Labours.* That is, you gratify your carnal Lusts, and Appetites, and continue your former Oppression, and Extortion. Let the World judge, to which Party amongst us (since we must be divided into Parties) this Rebuke is most applicable, those who heartily bewail the sad Catastrophe of the Day, or those who make it the Subject of their Mirth, and Rejoycing, and find Pleasure in Feasting, and Revelling upon it, with those also, who like Mr. Sheppard, tho' they do not

not indeed keep the Fast, yet employ the Time assigned for it, *For Strife and Debate, and to smite with the Fist of Wickedness*, by enflaming their credulous Followers, against all that duly and strictly observe it, by extenuating the guilt of the Rebellion, and by traducing all Representations wherein it is placed in a true light, and imputed to the real Authors, and Abettors of it. Is not this to encourage Strife, and Debate? Is not this to smite with the Fist of Wickedness? and to sound an Alarm to new Commotions and Violence? Was it for this that he alter'd the Day of his Lecture, (for which he has alledged this poor and frivolous Motive that it fell in closely with it) and mispent the Leisure he enjoy'd, in spreading his Calumnies far, and wide, without scruple, or remorse?

But to proceed, he assigns two *Principal Causes* (Presences he should have call'd them) of the Civil War: First the King's Marriage with a bitter *French Papist*; which he inveighs against as an encouragement to Popery, and a damp to the Protestant Interest, and informs us that it alienated the Hearts of the Subjects from him. King *James the First*, a Prince not to be suspected of any Design to encourage Popery, first proposed and treated of a Match with a Daughter of *Spain*, more bigotted to her Perswasion, and more Sollicitons for Advantages to be allowed to the Catholicks than even this bitter *French Papist*. But the King was upon his guard, and that no Disadvantage might happen to the *English Reformation*, he deliver'd his Resolution to his Ambassador *Digby* to this effect: "The Matter of Religion is to us of most principal Consideration; for nothing can be to us dearer than
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“ the Honour and Safety of the Religion we pro-
 “ fess. And therefore seeing that this Marriage
 “ (if it should take Place) is to be with a Lady
 “ of a different Religion from us, it becomes
 “ us to be tender, as on the one part to give
 “ them all Satisfaction convenient, so on the
 “ other to admit nothing that may blemish our
 “ Conscience, or detract from the Religion here
 “ Establish’d.” And he was so well assured of
 the Prince’s inviolable attachment to Protestan-
 tism, that he triumph’d in it, and engaged, that
 Charles should manage a Point in Controversy
 with the best studied Divines of them all; he al-
 so ordered that the *English Service* should be dai-
 ly used, in the Prince’s Household at *Madrid*.

When that Treaty did not succeed, the same
 Monarch concluded the Match Mr. *Sheppard* is so
 incensed at, tho’ it was not Consummated till
 just after his Death, the Articles of which were
 not so full in Favour of the *English Catholics*
 as those which were agreed upon at the Court
 of *Spain*, it was not disapproved at first by the
 Council, the Parliament, or People; however it
 was exclaim’d against afterwards, and laid hold of
 to foment the popular Discontents, and alienate
 the Affections of the Subjects, and perswade them
 to withdraw their Allegiance under pretext of
 Zeal for Religion, and the purity of the Gospel
 Doctrine. When the King gave the Prince his
 Advice, in relation to the Marriage, he recom-
 mended to him the care of the Protestant In-
 terest, and charg’d him to distinguish in the En-
 gagement with the Princess, and Marry her Per-
 son, but not her Religion. The Policy of that
 Age led them rather to regard the Power of
 the Kingdom with which they contracted such an
 Alliance,

Alliance, and the Security of the State from the assistance. Such a Confederate was obliged to give, and the Benefit of mutual Commerce, than to be apprehensive of the Royal Consort's different Sentiments in Religion; the Nation from whence she came consisted of near as many *Protestants* as *Papists* at that Time, and there was a fair Prospect of a total Reformation of the *Gallican Church*. But supposing the fatal Consequences he enumerates, flow'd from this Marriage; how could this excuse an open Rebellion? If the *Papists* were a little elated at first, they had soon reason to suppress their Joy, and conclude their Triumphs upon this occurrence, when they found that no Encouragement was shown to their Profession: For in *December 1623*, the King wrote to the two Archbishops, to be diligent in discovering, and apprehending *Jesuits*, and Seminary Priests, and required them to proceed against *Popish Recusants*, by Excommunication, and other Censures of the Church; and the Pope esteem'd the Persecution, as he term'd it, of those of his Communion, so severe, as to oblige him to write a Consolatory Letter to them, to alleviate their Afflictions, and direct them how to behave themselves under them.

The Catholics in *Ireland* were deny'd a *Toleration*, tho' they profer'd, at their own Expence, to maintain Five hundred Horse, and Five thousand Foot, of the Forces the King intended to transport to *Germany*, to assist the King of *Denmark* against the Emperor, upon Condition they might obtain that Favour; and this at a juncture when the King's Necessities were very great; and when they had the Confidence to erect Religious Houses in *Dublin*, and the Friars appear'd openly in their Habits, and affronted the Archbishop

and the Mayor, the King commanded, that the House, where the Fact was committed, should be demolished as a mark of Terror to those who resisted Authority; and that all other Edifices, either in that City, or elsewhere, which had been employ'd to the use of Superstitious Societies, should be converted into Houses of Correction, or Workhouses, or Halls of Justice, or Trade, and honest Arts. In the Year 1628, a Proclamation was issued, to oblige all Magistrates to proceed against *Popish* Recusants, and his Majesty's Commissioners had Directions, for taking the Forfeiture of two Thirds of their Estates, and another followed it, for seizing, and committing to Prison, without Bail, or Mainprize, all Priests, and Jesuits, and particularly *Smith* the titular Bishop of *Chalcedon*. The Queen lay under peculiar Restrictions, in respect of her own private Exercise of her Religion; the Chaplains, or Priests she brought over with her were to be Oratorians, an Order that had given no Provocation to the *English*, and so least liable to exception; and when they began to assume to themselves an excessive Power, and offend the King, they were discharg'd and sent back; upon which the King of *France* presented a Memorial by his Ambassador, and complain'd of this as an Infringment of the Marriage Articles, and it afterwards came to an open Rupture. When *Panzani* came into *England*, and entreated that the Catholicks here might have a Bishop, to be nominated by the King, and limited in the Exercise of his Function, his Majesty absolutely rejected the Proposal, unless such Bishop should hold the Oath of Allegiance to be a lawful Engagement, and the Pope would permit the *English* Romanists to take the Oath; nor would he

he consent that his Holiness should have an Agent for directing the Queen's Affairs in Religion, without first making Provision that he should be no Priest; and when upon a refined *Italian* Policy, *Con* who succeeded *Panzani* ingratiated himself at Court, by some Overtures of the Pope's Intercession for the Restoration of the *Palatinate*, and *Mountague* and *Matthews*, two Priests, had been active in making Profelytes, the King, upon the instances of Archbishop *Laud*, commanded them to retire.

Mr. *Sheppard*, who has an happy faculty of contradicting his own Arguments, has furnished me with sufficient Evidence, that there was no such Encouragement given to Popery by this Marriage as he would have us believe, and that from the Opinion, and Practice of the *Papists* themselves, who, being convinc'd they had nothing to hope for, from the King, or his Ministers, took their Measures accordingly. They had cunning enough to perceive that their Interest might be better promoted by *their Tools the Sectaries*; and therefore they animated them to throw all Things into Confusion. If Mr. *Sheppard's* Memoirs are genuine, they despair'd of this bitter *French Papist's* being able to prevail with her Lord to Discourtenance, or overthrow the *Protestant* Religion, as it is established in the Church of *England*, the purest transcript of Primitive Christianity, and the main Bulwark of the Reformation, and on that account contrived, and fomented the Rebellion. Cardinal *Richlieu* lent an Agent privately to *Edinburg*, to cherish and encrease the turbulent Humour of the *Scots*, and received another from thence, who solicited Supplies and communicated Councils: He sent them Arms and Ammunition,

munition, and promised them Encouragement and Assistance proportionable to any Enterprize they should frankly engage themselves in. And in our *English Wars*, tho' some of the Nobility, and Gentry of that Perswasion, drew their Swords, and lost their Lives and Estates in the King's Quarrel, yet this was owing to an innate Sense of Loyalty, and not to any Principle of Zeal for their Religion; many others contributed largely to the Cause of Rebellion, with the Approbation of the Parliament, and some were personally engaged; their Ecclesiasticks were eager to compass the Destruction of the King, as the most likely means to carry their Point, and get ground amongst us; from some well attested Relations, we are assured, that many of their Priests herded with our Enthusiasts, and became popular *Preachers* in their Congregations, and many more enlisted themselves in their Army, and both exposed themselves to all the dangers, and submitted to all the Fatigues of *common Soldiers*, in order to spirit up their Fellows, and make them averse to all thoughts of Peace. Mr. *Sheppard* is so kind as to vouch the Story of the Queen's Confessor, and his Behaviour at the King's Martyrdom; how then can he refrain from blushing, while he acknowledges his Predecessors in Nonconformity and Schism, to have been the *Property* of *Romish* Emissaries, and employ'd in the drudgery of putting their impious Projects in Execution? will not this Reflection humble his Pride, and abate something of that Self-conceit, which makes him presume, that he, and his Brethren are the great Supporters of Religion and Piety amongst us, and the only *Godly* and *Powerful* Ministers of the Word?

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Nor was there any real ground for Dejection, and uneasy apprehensions, amongst ourselves, since the King had given his People all imaginable Assurances, that he was firm, and zealous in the *Protestant Interest*, and would be vigilant to secure it from Danger, and frustrate all attempts against it. But perhaps it will be enquired, Why then was there so general a Suspicion, and Clamour? Why so many Addresses, and Complaints from the House of Commons, and the City of London? Why so many Petitions from grave Divines, as well as several Counties, and populous Corporations on this Head? These Things I shall endeavour to account for, with the utmost Candor, and Impartiality. It cannot be denied, but that upon the return of the *English Exiles* from Abroad, in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, some rigid, and morose Men, who had conceived an Antipathy to the Church Establishment, the Liturgy, and Ceremonies, and Habits of the Ministers, and were heated by the disputes and hard usage they supposed they had met with, during the Troubles at *Frankfort*, grew restless, and discontented, because the Government would not indulge their private Fancies, and give in to a Model of Discipline, which they prefer'd to our own. They therefore labour'd perpetually to bring the present Settlement into Disreputation, and contempt; and fell into many Sinister, and factious Practices, by which that glorious Queen and her Council, and the Bishops, were frequently teased and emboarassed; they caught at ev'ry Circumstance, and Opportunity they could meet with, to expose all that were hearty in their Affection to the Church, and vigorous in their Measures, to enforce Obedience to her Constitu-

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tions, as *popishly* affected; and laboured to recommend themselves under the Disguise of an extraordinary Sanctity. They strove by the wily Arts of Defamation, to make their Adversaries the mark of derision, and hatred amongst the Vulgar; they suggested that the Prelates, and Clergy who were steady in requiring the Observation of the Ceremonies, and wearing the Habits, were relapsing into the pernicious Errors of the *Romish* Church, from which we had been so happily delivered, and were preparing the way for a thorough Reconciliation with the Pope, and Submission to that slavish Yoke, under which our Forefathers had groaned for many Ages. This refractory Temper continued to infect the Church in King James the First's Time, till it was in a great measure curb'd, and repress'd by that Monarch, upon whom the frivolous Objections, and Obstinacy of the Ministers at the *Hampton-Court* Conference, had made Impressions that were very detrimental to their Cause, and unfavourable to their Persons. But they recovered Courage, and repeated their attacks, upon the Contentions that arose after the decision of the Synod of *Dort*, upon five Points that related to the Doctrine of *Predestination*. Those Divines, whose reading for the most part reach'd no higher than the modern Systems, or whose Prejudices to them, at least, hindered their careful perusal of the more ancient Writers, and their diligent attention to the Sense of the Scriptures, while they supinely acquiesced in those Interpretations they had received upon Trust from their Systems, grew very fond of propagating the Doctrines contain'd in those Decisions, as entirely consonant to Scripture, and the Analogy of Faith, tho' the Subject of them was of the most

most abstruse and intricate Speculation; and reviv'd and blacken'd all that entertain'd different Sentiments (as most Men did who had studied this Controversy more accurately, and were better acquainted with the Antiquities of the Church, with Fathers, and Councils, and Ecclesiastical Histories) by the reproachful denomination of *Prolagians*, *Arminians*, and the spawn of *Papists*. All Things being in such a ferment at King Charles's Accession to the Throne, it is not to be wonder'd at, if the revival of any primitive, and laudable Customs, or a Provision for the more decent and solemn Administration of Divine Worship, which had been already made by our Laws, but neglected by some *indolent*, if not *disaffected*, Governors of the Church, and could not but be grateful to all serious and devout Minds, should be exclaim'd against by those *fiery Zealots*, under the unpopular Notion of *Innovation* and *Superstition*.

Thus were injudicious and unwary Men by the Management, and Sophistry of others, who concealed the worst Designs under specious Pretences, possess'd with a belief, that these were only leading Steps towards *Papery*, and a dread of something more shocking and insupportable to follow; thus were they perswaded that it was necessary for them to resist the growing Evil, and taught that ev'ry one was bound to contend earnestly for the Faith, which was once delivered to the Saints, without any caution concerning the Manner, in which they ought to manifest their Zeal, or the Limitations to which their Contests were to be subject. They were assur'd that the purity of the Gospel, which had been retriev'd from the Pollutions with which it was defiled, was again corrupted with
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the *Romish* Leaven, and that the *Reformed* Institution was going to be surrendered, by those who lay under the most indispensable Obligations of Oaths, and Vows to guard, and defend it. Thus were the Seeds of Anarchy, and Uproar scattered through the Realm, and produced a fatal harvest of Miseries, notwithstanding all that his Majesty, or the suspected Churchmen could offer in their own Vindication; and those Condescensions by which he studied to appease their Fury. If we examine into the Records of that Age, we shall find that he chose the gentlest Terms, and the coolest Reasoning, to obviate their Suspicions, and allay their Jealousies, tho' he could not but discover a severe Resentment of their disingenuous and undutiful Carriage towards him. He was ever ready to Pledge his Royal Word, and Honour, that he would countenance the *Protestant* Religion, and by all convenient and legal Methods restrain the Insolence, and hinder the encrease of *Papists*; as we may collect from his Answer to the Remonstrance of the House of Commons, *June* 16. 1628. and another *Jan.* 27. 1628. wherein he professes, that any encrease of *Papery* was contrary to his Inclination, that the Laws should be put in Execution against Recusants, and Priests; and he informs the House, that he had prevail'd with the Queen that *Rosetti* should be recall'd, tho', by the Marriage Articles, she might insist upon his residing here, as the Pope's Agent in Matters relating to her Religion. And in a third Answer his Majesty expresses himself in this manner: "We say, that for preserving the Peace
 "and Safety of this Kingdom, from the design
 "of the *Popish* Party, we have, and will still con-
 "cur, with all the just Designs of our People in

a Parliamentary way. And still further, in another Answer, "As to any Suspicion of Favour," or Inclination to the *Papists*, he said, He was "willing to declare to all the World, that as he had been brought up from his Childhood in, and practised that Religion, which was Established in the Church of *England*; so he believ'd, he could, having given a good part of his Time, and Pains to the Examination of the grounds of it, as it differ'd from that of *Rome*, maintain the same by unanswerable Reasons; and hoped he should be ready to Seal it with the Effusion of his Blood, if it should please God to call him to that Sacrifice: And that nothing could be so acceptable to him, as any Proposition, which might contribute to the advancement of it here, or the Propagation of it abroad; this being the greatest means to draw down a Blessing from God, upon himself, and this Nation; and if this Profession of his were wanting to his People, he thought himself extremely unfortunate, for that his constant Practice in his own Person had always been, without Ostentation, as much to evidence his Care, and Duty therein, as he could tell how to express." See here the Meekness, and Humility, and steady Piety of this Excellent Prince, who fully verified this Profession, when he *resisted unto Blood*. But alas! the seduced Commonalty were deaf to all these solemn Assurances, and healing Proposals; their Leaders had forewarn'd them against giving any Credit to the Declarations of their Sovereign, and they were to look upon all that he said as the product of deep Dissimulation. Tho' *Popery* was the Cry, yet their strongest Efforts were employed

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ployed against other Adversaries. The *Ramish* Errors, and Idolatry, were justly abominated by all true *Englishmen*, and therefore the Imputation of them, was enough to ruin all that stood in their way, and opposed their measures, and so, tho' in Words they rail'd against *Papery*, yet in fact, *Episcopacy*, and the *Liturgy* were the Things they meant, and the Mark they levell'd at from their Satyrical Batteries; while they taxed the principal Pillers of the Church, with a cunning way of bringing it in by the growth of *Arminianism*. The eminent Assertors of Church Discipline were harass'd and oppress'd by Causeless, and yet most implacable Prosecutions, in some of which the vilest Subornation was not boggled at; and in others, false Accusations were greedily listen'd to, and seconded, even by the House of Commons themselves, as in the Case of Dr. *Cosins* Dean of *Durham*, who upon a malicious Information was impeached by them for Superstition, and had thereby an happy Opportunity of wiping of the Aspersions that had been cast upon him, and clearing his Character, to the Shame and Confusion of his Enemies, before the Highest Court of Judicature in the Kingdom; tho' he could never obtain any Reparation, nor recover his Charges from the Complainant.

The King was murmur'd at, as tho' he dispos'd of all Preferments, to Men of mean Endowments, and profligate Lives, and neglected the godly, and painful Preachers. Many barefac'd Libels, and envenom'd Pamphlets were dispers'd, and recommended by their Creatures in ev'ry Corner, wherein the King, and the Body of the Clergy were slandered as Enemies to all that was Good, and Holy, and Obstructors of all Reformation.

formation. Many Petitions were forged, by annexing a new draught to the Subscriptions that had been collected to another, the Contents of which were reasonable, and respectful: Many were procured, by the most low, and abject Courtships to the dregs of the People, who did not so much as know what they set their Hands to, but were only told in general, that the things requested were very proper, and would be highly beneficial to the Nation. Random, and groundless Reports were whisper'd about, and some that had a foundation of Truth, were enlarged by the Addition of many odious, and exasperating Circumstances. Men's Minds were startled with Discourses of Conspiracies that had been discovered by a strange Providence, and would be fully laid open as soon as it should be convenient, and when ev'ry Particular should be detected, for the present, it was only given out, that they were most monstrous and unnatural, and it was more than obscurely hinted, that the King himself was Privy, and Consenting to them.

By these and the like subtil, and wicked Devices, were our Ancestors so far infatuated, as to over-throw the Constitution, and plunge themselves into an abyss of Woes, that can never be too deeply lamented, or too cautiously guarded against for the future. If those Firebrands of the Realm, who sought *Occasion* had not succeeded in this, they had other Stratagems in reserve, they had further decoys to captivate unstable Minds, which they urg'd with equal Confidence, and Noise, as they did that, which he mentions in the second Place, *viz.*

That of *Arbitrary Power*. Which he enlarges upon under three Heads: *The Invasion of the Pri-*
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 lege of Parliament, the Prejudice of Religion, and
 the destroying the Liberty, and Property of the Subject.*
 Under the first of these he reckon's frequent,
 and unnecessary Prorogations, and Dissolutions.
 Now these are the undoubted Prerogative of the
 Crown : To Prorogue, or Dissolve Parliaments is
 in the Breast of the King, whenever he shall judge
 it to be convenient, and to determine concern-
 ing the necessity, or expedience of such a proce-
 dure, is to act out of our Sphere, as Subjects,
 and entrench upon the Sovereign's Right ; but
 to exert his allow'd Prerogative, can never be
 esteem'd in him a breach of the Privilege of Par-
 liament. Besides, the Feuds, and Animosities that
 divided the Lower House, and both sharp'n'd,
 and protracted all their Debates, and hindered
 the dispatch of Publick Business ; the undutiful
 Behaviour, and Reflections of the leading Mem-
 bers, their seditious Cabals and Intreigues, their
 virulent Speeches, in which ev'ry thing they dis-
 approv'd, was complain'd of as a National Griev-
 ance, their avowed Ill-will to all those that re-
 tain'd a Sense of their Duty to the King, and
 had Courage enough to own their Loyalty, and
 assert his Cause ; and the petulancy with which
 ev'ry Motion was denied that had been recom-
 mended from the Throne ; furnished his Majesty
 with a very plausible Plea for his Conduct in this
 particular. But if he were mistaken in his Poli-
 ticks, and such usage did but more irritate the
 Male-contents, and inspire them with redoubled
 Obstinacy, all that could be objected to the King,
 was a rash, imprudent, and dangerous Exercise
 of his Power : It might perhaps have been com-
 mendable, in any good Patriot, who could have
 access, humbly to have interposed his Interest,
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and solicited his Majesty to have continued those Parliaments, and permitted them to sit, and finish the Affairs that were under their Consultation; yet, if after all decent Remonstrances, he took a contrary Resolution, the Subjects part was to submit, and not to misconstrue a pure act of his legal Prerogative, a breach of the Privilege of Parliament. The handle this gave to ill Men, who lay in wait, to misinterpret all his Actions, and enflame the giddy Multitude, enclined several Persons, who were unalterably devoted to his Service, to conclude the Advice by which he was influenced, to have been very pernicious; and the Calamities which ensued, have prevail'd upon many who judge of Counsels by the event, to joyn in the same Censure. When any Body of Men, seem not in a fit Disposition to treat coolly, and sedately upon those Subjects, whereof they have the proper Cognizance, or may be suspected of forming Resolutions, detrimental to the State, or unacceptable to the Government; it has been ever thought, a wise, and safe Method, to prevent their Meeting for a while, that by such an interval their boiling Passions may have leisure to subside, and that they may regain a Temper by more mature Consideration. If the Sovereign is sometimes deceiv'd by such Maxims, and some direful events follow, which he could not apprehend, and would gladly have prevented; we are to remember that he is fallible, and obnoxious to misfortunes, we are notwithstanding to preserve our Reverence to his Person, and to deal very tenderly in remarking his Defects, rather than to aggravate, or exclaim against them. I can assign a more immediate Cause of the War, which Mr. Sheppard has been pleased to overlook,

look, and that was his Majesty's fatal Compliance, in ratifying the Bill, for the continuance of that Parliament, until they should be dissolv'd by their own Consent: This was the grand Source from whence the following Mischeifs flow'd, since a parcel of *abandoned Wretches* were hereby enabled, to retain the Name, and Authority of a Parliament, after they had violated all the Rights of it, and quite altered the Nature of that Assembly, by the gradual, and unjust Exclusion of near three parts in four of their Members, and the Admission of many, who had no better claim to a Seat there than the Approbation of their Accomplices in Iniquity.

But the most flagrant Instance of the breach of the Privileges of Parliament, was, the King's coming in Person, with some *hundreds* of armed Followers, into the House to seize the *Five Members*, whose only Fault seem'd to be their Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of the Subject; which *Whitlock*, whom he Quotes, affirms to be the *first apparent ground* of all our following Miseries. As to *Whitlock's* Opinion, and Authority, let it be considered that he was engaged on the Parliament's Side, and therefore must of course urge every Argument that tended to their Justification, and might transfer the blame from themselves to the opposite Party. As to Mr. *Sheppard*, he has grossly prevaricated in stating the matter of Fact, and palm'd three or four falsehoods upon us in the compass of three Lines. He affirms there were some *hundreds* of armed Followers with the King: The noble Historian, who was then in the House, says, Only his own usual Guard of Halberdiers, and their number not so great as used to go with him upon

upon any ordinary Motion, and some Gentlemen with their small Swords only, fewer than used to attend him when he went to Walk in the Park, Baker says about an *Hundred*. I know the House in their Declaration talked of Hundreds, but either their Fears multiplied them, or they computed them by guess, and took in all that flock'd about the House, from *Westminster-Hall*, or the *Court of Requests*, meerly as Spectators, to make up the account. Again he affirms, that the King came with them into the House, whereas it is on all Hands agreed, that he entered the House accompanied only by the Prince *Palatine* his Nephew, having charged his Attendants, to stir no further than the Stairs, and to refrain from all Violence, and uncivil Language, altho' provok'd. He went, not to *seize*, but to *demand* the *five Members*, who, the Day before, had been refused to be committed into *Custody* of the Serjeant at Arms, who was sent with Orders from the King to that purpose. The King declar'd he would be as careful to maintain their Privileges, as any King of *England* had been, or should be, but aver'd that in Cases of Treason no Person had Privilege, which is a Truth universally acknowledged by all that understand any thing of our Laws. They were accused, not for Words spoken in the House, but for Practices without Doors, in seven Articles, delivered into the House of Peers in Writing by the Attorney General; and his Majesty could not hope to secure them in any other way, because the Commons had passed a Vote, that if any Person came to apprehend them, or seize their Papers, they might require aid of the next Constable, and detain such Person till the Pleasure of the House were known:

known: They also encourag'd them to oppose, and repel any Force that should be used to arrest them, without first acquainting the House, and receiving Order from thence. The House having thus intermeddled in the Matter, the King was in a manner obliged to have recourse to them: He did indeed declare, he was resolved to have the Offenders, wheresoever he should find them, and they took that Declaration for an Evidence, that he mean't to have brought a Force into the House, to apprehend them, had they been there; and yet, at the same time, he assured them, upon the Word of a King, he never intended any Force, but would proceed against them, in a fair and legal way; there was afterwards great Industry used to perswade the Citizens that a Massacre of the Members had been resolved upon, and an Information, that one of the Waiters said he had a good Pistol, and another cried *fall on*, and others enquired when the *Word* would be given, and seem'd to be vexed that they returned back without coming to Blows, was greedily receiv'd and improv'd. Whether this was illegal, and a breach of Privilege, I presume not to determine; it was generally disliked, as extraordinary, and unprecedented, and at that juncture highly unseasonable, as the project of a single conceited Minister, who by his Folly revealed it, and, by a dissimulation, little short of Treachery, was deficient in that part of the Execution of it, which he was intrusted with.

Let it then be allow'd an Error into which he was drawn by the many heinous Affronts, and Indignities that had been put upon him, to compensate abundantly for this, and the other mistakes they imputed to his Reign, let us turn
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at thoughts to the exorbitant extension of their Privileges, when they assum'd to swallow (as the ever memorable noble Historian observes) all the Rights, and Pierogatives of the Crown, the Liberties, and Lands of the Church, the Power, and Jurisdiction of the Peers, in a Word, the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of *England*, in the bottomless, and insatiable Gulph of their own Privileges. And no doubt these invasions on pretence of Privilege, will hereafter be judged to have been the most unparallel'd, and capital Breach of those Privileges, that had ever yet been attempted. However, this was not the Cause, but the Commencement of the War; Matters were then ripe for Action. The King was forced from *Whisthall*, and soon after from *Hampton-Court*, by Tumults, and after some Proclamations, Remonstrances, Answers, &c, there was opened a Scene of *Blood and Horror*. And if some small Slips, and Miscarriages are to be condemn'd in the Royal Martyr, it will be easy to discern, at whose Doors the heavy load of Guilt is to be laid.

As to the Innocence of the *five Members*, and their Zeal for Religion, let that be refuted by the Articles exhibited against them, and their Characters delivered by our Historians, together with their subsequent Demcanor. Not to reflect on their Memories more severely, Four of them were in the Parliament Service against the King, and the other, whose Profession was the Law, was a fiery promoter of all violent Courses, and an utter Enemy to all overtures of Accommodation.

The next Instances of *Arbitrary Power*, he mentions, are those which tended to the prejudice of Religion, as the unscriptural, enslaving, and

persecuting Doctrines, preach'd up by *Manwaring*, *Mountague*, *Sibthorp*, &c. By Mr. *Sheppard's* good leave, I shall correct the order in which he has plac'd them, and consider them according to their true Chronology. *Mountague* was imprison'd by the House of Commons in the first Parliament of King *Charles* the First, and afterwards held to 2000 *l.* Bail, on the account of Books wrote in the Reign of King *James* the First, and approv'd by him, but the Consideration of his Books was postpon'd for some time: Upon this he wrote a bold Letter to the Duke of *Buckingham*, wherein he offer'd, that in case he did not give a solid, and full Answer to ev'ry Article objected from his Book, he would willingly be given up to the Pleasure of his Enemies, and not importune his Majesty, or his Grace for any Protection. In the second Parliament of King *Charles*, in the first Committee of Religion that we hear of, *Mountague's* Books were again call'd in Question, and it was resolv'd by the Commons, that Mr. *Mountague* endeavour'd to reconcile *England* and *Rome*, and alienate the King's Affection from his well affected Subjects. The Books were, *An Answer to the late Gag of Protestants*, wrote against the *Papists*; another, entituled, *Appello Casarem*, and a third Treatise of the *Invocation of Saints*; he was charg'd with making too large Concessions, and approaching too near to the Doctrines of that Church; it does not appear that he was brought to his Answer, 'tis probable the Process was drop't by the Commons; and Mr. *Mountague* was afterwards preferr'd to the See of *Chichester*. *Sibthorp*, and *Manwaring*, in some Sermons preach'd at Court, and elsewhere, extended the Prerogative of the King too far, and urged an unlimited

unlimited Obedience on the Subjects; in point of Conscience. There were then, as well as now, many Disputes rais'd about the Ruler's Power, and the lawfulness of Resistance; in the Course of which many learned Civilians, and Divines, as well in Foreign Nations, as our own Kingdom, maintain'd the same Positions they did. *Manwaring* indeed went further, and declar'd, by way of Inference from the King's Supream Authority, That he was not bound to preserve his Subjects, in their Rights and Liberties, That he might impose Taxes without the Consent of Parliament, And the People were obliged to obey under the Penalty of Damnation. This was indeed strange Doctrine, the over-flowing of Zeal, or excess of Flattery; for which he was impeach'd, and severely censur'd by the Lords; and he recanted, and retracted his Errors, and owned his rashness, and unadvisedness in most submissive Terms, prescrib'd by a Committee of the House of Commons, and his Sermons were suppress'd by Proclamation, and *Mountagne's Apello Cæsarem* was called in. I would know wherein Arbitrary Power was manifested in this, to the Prejudice of Religion? Perhaps it will be answered, That these Men had Patrons, who endeavour'd to Skreen them, and afterwards procur'd Pardons, and Preferments for them. That they were Instruments to sound the People, and try how much they would bear; and therefore when they took the alarm, and grew outrageous, these Incendiaries, who had given such just occasion for their Fears, and Jealousies, were responsible both to God, and Man, for the Afflictions we endured. I reply, That in all Ages there are hot-headed, and inconsiderate Zealots, and they generally find Prote-

Stors to Favour, and Encourage them, by whose Intercession, the King might be too easily wrought upon, to wink at their Indiscretions, and to approve their honest Intentions. Let us examine the Characters of the Prelates, and dignified Clergy of that Age, and we shall find them, almost universally, Men of great Learning, and exemplary Holiness; and to atone for two or three crude, and indigested Discourses, that were preach'd at Court, we shall meet with Hundreds of Sermons delivered there, for soundness of Doctrine, clearness of Method, purity of Style, and good Sense, and Piety, not inferiour to any, that have since been published amongst us, allowing for the Refinement of the *English* Language in the last Age.

He proceeds to Archbishop *Laud's* Innovations in the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship, of the Establish'd Church. *Innovation* was a Word of Odium, and chosen to signify something, that was quite contrary to its Grammatical meaning, namely, the Restoration of some very Ancient, and Laudable Practices. In Answer to which, I shall only refer the Reader, to the Archbishop's own Speech in the *Star-Chamber*, relating to Innovations; which, if calmly, and attentively perused, will abundantly free him from any Imputations of this kind. The Archbishop never attempted any Alteration in the Doctrine of the Church, our Creeds, and Articles remain'd entire, and unviolated. He did indeed Vindicate the Sense of some of the Articles of the Church from the erroneous Comments of some rigid Predestinarians, who had imbibed their Divinity principally from the *Calvinian* Systems, and would fain have obtruded, their own Notions upon all their Brethren, as the plain, and undeniable Doctrine of

of these Articles ; which they had several Times endeavour'd, in his Predecessors Days. This Excellent Man was thoroughly Convertant in the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, and was desirous to raise the Discipline, and Worship of the Church to a still higher Degree of Perfection, by conforming both, more exactly to the original Pattern ; and in these Labours, he was earnest, and indefatigable : God forgive the monstrous Guilt, contracted by the People of this Land, who prevented his Pious Intentions, and requited him in so barbarous a Manner, and at last proceeded to shed his Blood, which crys aloud for Vengeance, even upon future Generations ; to prevent the execution of which, we ought devoutly to lament, and heartily to abhor, that ungrateful, and unrelenting Fury, by which, so venerable a Metropolitan, and so valuable a Governor, was ravished from this Church and Kingdom.

We are now come to his third Head of Complaint against Arbitrary Power, in destroying the Liberty and Property of the Subject. He instances in *illegal, and long Imprisonments, illegal Fines, and corporal Punishments*. Unless he had produced the particular Examples, it is impossible to reply more distinctly, than by affirming that many of the Imprisonments, and Punishments he refers to (if he concurs with other Writers of his Party, in those they commonly insist on) were not, as he represents them, Oppressive, and Unjustifiable, but absolutely Necessary, to intimidate, and restrain the licentious boldness, of some malicious, and unruly Spirits ; they were incur'd by the most notorious Acts of Sedition, and Publication of dreadful Blasphemies ; and were inflicted by
due

due course of Law, according to many, and ancient Precedents: As that of *Leighton*, who in a Libel called *Sions Plea*, solicited the two Houses, to kill all the Bishops, and *smite them under the first Rib*; and saluted the Queen, with the coarse Language of *Idolatrass, Cannanite, and a Daughter of Heth*. As those also of *Pryn, Burton, and Bastwick*; who had been first gently Reprimanded for their Libelling Humour, and afterwards more severely censur'd and imprison'd, but still being Incorrigible, were, at last, in the *Star-Chamber* (where they behaved themselves with marvellous Insolence) upon a very Patient and Solemn Hearing (says my Lord *Clarendon*) in as full a Court, as ever I saw in that Place, without any difference in Opinion, or dissenting Voice, censur'd as Scandalous, Seditious, and infamous Persons.

But if the Ministers of Justice, did, in some Cases, stretch their Power beyond Measure, in the Prosecution of some Persons, whose behaviour had been resented at Court, or who had disoblighd some great Statesman; This has been a Grievance common to all Reigas, and as seldom to be imputed to that of King *Charles the First*, as any of our most revered, and applauded Monarchs, I am sure, the whole Legislature, or more properly, those envious, and inveterate Leaders, who prevail'd upon many, and extorted the consent of others, had a much more heavy and unrighteous Sentence to bewail, and repent of, with relation to the *Earl of Strafford*, than any they can alledge, that was owing to the influence of the King, his Officers of State, or the Bishops, and Clergy. How abundantly could we recriminate, and how vast a disproportion would

would there appear, in the Number of the Sufferers, and the Afflictions they endured, contrary to all the stated Rules of Law, and Equity, when those Men were possessed of Power? Then the Name of a *Malignant*, or *Delinquent* was enough to despoil any one of his Estate, and deprive him of his Liberty. In the Morning of their usurp'd Authority, they expell'd and imprison'd Mr. *Trelawney*, a Member of their House, and a Merchant of great Reputation, for Words spoken long before the Discovery, and some Days before the House resolv'd they would have a Guard, and that upon the evidence of a Fellow who pretended to over-hear them, which were, that the House could not appoint a Guard for themselves, without the King's Consent, under pain of High Treason; when at the same time, the Person, with whom the Conference was held, declar'd that he said only, it might be imputed to them for High Treason; when the War broke out, they again imprison'd this Gentleman, and seiz'd upon his Estate, which was very considerable, and suffer'd him to Perish in Prison, for want of ordinary Relief and Refreshment. Let this Specimen prove what noble *Guardians* they were of Liberty, and Property. And how dangerous a Method it is, to seek to Redress any supposed Enormities, by Violence, and Tumults, by popular Insurrections, and an open Rebellion, which ended in embruing their Hands in the Blood of the Lord's Anointed.

Ship-money, Coar, and Conduct-money, Tunnage and Poundage, follow in the List of oppressive, and illegal Taxes. As to the first, it was countenanced at least, by some very ancient Laws, and the Writs for collecting it were found amongst
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our Records, the Opinions of the Judges may be pleaded on its behalf, which they delivered at large, with the Arguments that enforced them in the *Exchequer* Chamber, where Mr. *Hampden's* Cause was publicly tried. But supposing the Judges were byassed, and sacrificed their Honesty, and Oaths to their Sovereign's Pleasure, yet this extraordinary, and ingracious Expedient was disclaim'd, and given up to quiet Men's Minds. The other Taxes were usual, that of Tunnage and Poundage had been hereditary ever since *Edward the Fourth*, and tho' settled by Parliament on the King, for Life only, yet upon a Demise, was always collected by the Successor, till there should be an Opportunity of confirming his Right to it in the Parliament, in the first Year of the King's Reign, a Bill was sent up by the Commons to the Lords, for one Year only, which was look'd upon as unusual and disrespectful, and was excused by an Assurance, that they meant, only to take so much time to examine into, and regulate the Customs, which had been height'ned, and reduce them to the Old Standard, and then they would pass them for Life. This Parliament was adjourn'd quickly after, because of the increase of the Plague, and the Affair seem'd rather to be omitted, by pure Forgetfulness; than that either the King insisted upon enjoying it, without an Act of Parliament, or the People were dissatisfied, or murmured at the Payment of it, till it was inserted to increase the Catalogue of Grievances, and widen the unhappy Breach, between the contending Parties. However, in the Bill that passed afterwards, whereby it was granted for two Months only, the King renounced any Power of levying it, without

without express consent of the Parliament, where by he strip himself of all he had left, to have prevented it possible the terrible Calamities of War, *Patent Monopolies* were indeed a detriment to Trade, and afforded opportunities for Exaction, to those who obtain'd them, but then they were voluntarily recalled, when his Majesty was apprised of the Inconvenience of them.

For a finishing stroke on this Head, we are told, that all Law and Right were overturn'd, both as to Civil and Religious Matters, by the intolerable Oppressions of the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commission Court*, in which the Bishops, especially *Law*, in Conjunction with others, enforced Ecclesiastical Obedience, and vented their Malice with a merciless Fury, and unrelenting Cruelty. Let the *Dissenters* themselves Judge, whecher such Language, is consistent with a modest Vindication; or what Title of Infamy that Man deserves, that shall presume to call such vile, and wicked railing by that Name. All the Answer I shall give it is, That it is a slanderous and false Assertion; only adding, That Archbishop *Law* was so remote from merciless Fury, and unrelenting Cruelty, that he declin'd giving Sentence in the Case of *Pryn*, *Barton*, and *Bastwick*. The Exorbitances of these Courts he had before exaggerated under the Head of Imprisonments, Fines, and corporal Punishments, because those which were esteemed most intolerable, were the Sentences of these Courts; and now he returns, and arraigns and condemns the Courts themselves, as Scenes of all Injustice, and Cruelty, tho' very Ancient; for the High Commission-Court was erected by a Statute in the first of *Queen Elizabeth*, instead of a larger Authority

of the Pope, then abolished, and that of the Star-Chamber was extended, and confirm'd, rather than founded, by a Statute of *Henry the Seventh*, as the Noble Historian informs us. And they consisted, of the most wise, and honourable of the Nobility, and the chief Officers of both Church, and State, which is a manifest demonstration of the hardiness, and self-conceit of such a forward Censor. And if in some Cases their Management, had left them liable to Exception, the King had made ample Reparation, for all former Encroachments, when he surrendred them, and other his most essential Prerogatives, as Pledges, of his Affection for his People, and his earnest desire of Peace; some time before *Whitlock's* first apparent ground of all our following Miseries.

But, for fear what he had hitherto amassed, should not be thought a sufficient Warrant for Rebellion, and the Iliad of Woes consequent thereupon, and that *direful Act* which consummated all their other Villanies, he endeavours, to free the Nonconformists from the Charge of being concern'd therein, by a trifling, as well as most audacious Equivocation; highly derogatory from the Honour of the present Parliament of *Great Britain*, for which he might deservedly fear the Animadversion of that august Body, were not such a Libellor too mean, and contemptible for their Notice: For he maintains, that the Parliament *then*, were no more Nonconformists, than they are *now*. This is false with regard to several of them, and can only be made out, if understood of the Majority, by this Subterfuge, that there was then no Toleration, and so no visible, and avow'd dissention by Conventicle Exercises, untill the War broke out, and they could express their aversion to the

Church

Church Offices with Impunity, wherever their Power prevail'd. But they were Nonconformists, in *Principles* at least, some time before; they encouraged the most bitter, and impudent Pamphlets wrote against the Ceremonies, and Liturgy, and the Order, and Jurisdiction of Bishops; nay, they took the Liberty to inveigh against them, in set Speeches, in the House, without controul: They encourag'd those Ministers, who either refused, or scrupled, a Submission to, or Compliance with the Ecclesiastical Constitutions. They were constant Auditors of their seditious Harangues, and frequently present at those private Performances, they miscall'd Religious Duties: The House, by their sole Pleasure, constituted such Men Lecturers, in the most populous Parishes in *London*, and other great Towns. They entered into a strict Correspondence, and Confederacy with the Commissioners of *Scotland*, and the *Kirk*, to establish the same Discipline in both Kingdoms, and, for fear a Protestation they had taken, wherein they promised to maintain, and defend the true Protestant Religion, express'd in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, should give Offence to their Brethren, and be misrepresented, to intimate a liking of the present Establishment, or a design to preserve it; they explained themselves by a Declaration, that those Words, were not to be extended to the maintaining of any Form of Worship, Discipline, or Government, nor of any Rites, or Ceremonies of the said Church of *England*. They were not disheartned by the Rejection of their first Bill for taking away the Bishops Votes in the House of Lords, but quickly after brought in another, for the total Extirpation of the Order, together with

Deans, Deans and Chapters, Chancellors, Commissary's, &c. which, tho' it lay dormant a while, was relem'd upon the first favourable Opportunity, and tho' it had the same fate as before, yet afterwards another Bill was brought in, and passed the Commons, and by the help of tumultuary Petitioners forced its way through the House of Peers, and was at last confirm'd by the King, in hopes of preserving the essentials of Church Government; by gratifying their demands, with respect to these State-privileges.

In all the Propositions, and Treaties afterwards, the Destruction of the Church was always to be stipulated for, as a point of the last Importance, from which they could by no means recede; by the Covenant, which was impos'd upon all their Members, they bound themselves to *Endeavour the Extripation of Prelacy (that is Church Government, by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers, depending on that Hierarchy) and Superstition, by which name of Reproach they stigmatiz'd the Liturgy, which, they afterwards abolished by an Ordinance, setting a Penalty upon the use of it.* If he is not perfectly ignorant of these Facts, with what front could he advance so glaring an Untruth, that the Parliament *then* (when the War began) were no more *Nonconformists* than they are *now*? Or what *Salvo* will he invent, to excuse it? Was it enough to impose upon his Audience, to assure them, that the Earl of *Essex*, and most of the General Officers, and the Sea Captains, were for the Liturgy, and Episcopacy? To detect the Fallacy of his Conclusion, let it be remembred, that several Persons were engaged in the Rebellion, upon different

different Views, Enthusiasm hurried many, Ambition decoy'd some, private Disgusts, and Disappointments, which were resent'd as Injuries, incited others, and a few were seduced by the Reverence, and Friendship they had for their Superiors, and their Dependance upon them. Amongst these, the Earl of Essex was drawn in by the Haughtiness of his Nature, and the neglect of the Ministry, the Repulses he met with at Court, in some Favours he solicited, and the Disgraces he conceived to have been heap'd upon him. When these were often repeated, and artfully magnified, by those who made it their Business to Caress, and Flatter him, his Passion swell'd too high to be contain'd within the bounds of Allegiance, and a vain hope of being Supreme in Command, determin'd that unhappy Nobleman, to act such a Part in our national Disturbances, as will be an indelible Stain to his Character, and sully the Lustre of all his good Qualities.

In the beginning of these Troubles, and upon the first Consultations of the Male-contents, they were divided in their Opinions, and Schemes. Some were only for pruning away what they look'd upon as the Excrescences of Church-power, and altering those Parts of the Liturgy that were most disliked, and rejecting those Ceremonies, that were counted Superfluous, or Superstitious; others would not be contented with the Reformation of Abuses, but were for destroying *Root and Branch*, as the Phrase was, and these soon gain'd the Ascendant over the rest, and forc'd them, either to abandon their Interests, or go their lengths; if they seem'd to retain the least Affection for the Establishment, they labour'd incessantly

cessantly to corrupt their Principles, and make them as furious, and irreconcilable as themselves.

I cannot but smile to read his Account of Archbishop *Williams*, when he mentions his taking a Commission from the Parliament, and gives him the pompous Title, of one of their *Generals*. Upon the War's breaking out, the Archbishop, tho' he had been dismiss'd from the great Places he enjoy'd, and treated very roughly by the Court, distinguish'd himself in the King's Service; for which he had like to have been seiz'd, and murder'd at his Castle of *Cawood*, had he not had Intelligence of the Design, and escaped: His House was plunder'd, and his learned Collections, and Compositions were destroy'd. He retir'd into *Wales*, and there promoted the Royal Cause, fortify'd the Castle of *Abberconway*, at his own Expence, and put the Country into a Posture of Defence for his Majesty. The King, upon this, express'd his Satisfaction in the Archbishop's Loyalty, and, by Letter under his Signet, gave him the Custody of *Abberconway* Castle, till his Expences should be reimburs'd; notwithstanding which Grant, Sir *John Owen*, by Order of *Prince Rupert*, seiz'd that Fortrefs, and made Prize of the Archbishop's Effects, with those of other Gentlemen, who had lodg'd them there, as in a Place of Security. The Archbishop complain'd to the King of this usage, but had no redress: About a Year after, when *Oxford* was invested, and the King's Circumstances grew desperate, the Archbishop upon Condition his Effects, and those of his Neighbours, might be restored, agreed with *Milton*, who commanded the Parliament Forces in thole Parts, to assist him, with his Relations, and Servants, in Storming the Castle, and forcing

ing Sir John Owen to Surrender, which he did. Will not any sincere, and honest Man be amaz'd, to see this Transaction so shamefully disguised, and misrepresented, under the Notion of taking a Commission from the Parliament, and becoming one of their Generals; without any intimation of the Time when this happen'd, or the occasion, and reasons of such a Conduct, or the least hint of the Archbishop's Sentiments, and Behaviour, during the series of our deplorable Confusions, both before, and after this single Passage of his Life? To illustrate which, I must add, that after the King's Death, the Archbishop pass'd his Days, and Nights, in Solitude, and Grief, in Watching, Fasting, and Prayers, and seem'd to be perfectly weary of Living. So that if he took any unwarrantable Steps, upon such sensible Provocations, he may charitably be suppos'd to have expiated them by an hearty Repentance.

As tho' he were Conscious to himself, that the Mist he had cast before Men's Eyes, was too thin to conceal the Nonconformists from being discern'd the Promoters of, and principal Agents in the Rebellion, he farther attempts to persuade us, that it ought not to be called by that harsh Name; because the King was the Aggressor, and the Parliament were compell'd by the utmost necessity to take Arms, from the motive of Self-preservation. Here indeed he abates something of his wonted Confidence, and only says, that the King, (or his Evil Counsellors) rather began the War. Which Assertion flatly contradicts the determination of the Legislature, which has pronounced it a Rebellion, and by consequence arraigns their Wisdom, and Justice, in appointing

ing a Day of Humiliation, to implore the Pardon of Almighty God, for this heinous Transgression, as well as the Murder of our Sovereign. But how does he confirm his Position? Why, the King retir'd from his Parliament, to *Hamp-ton Court*; he rais'd Soldiers at *Tork*; he set up his Standard at *Nottingham*, he went to *Hull*, where the first Blood was drawn in the Quarrel. Had not the King, out of a tender regard to the quiet, and safety of his Subjects, made the largest Concessions? Had he not resign'd his darling Prerogatives, and those branches of Power, that were absolutely requisite for the Defence of his Crown, and Dignity, to their extravagant Jealousies, and importunate Clamours? Till it was apparent, that his Compliances could procure no return of Trust, or Duty, but only embolden'd them to venture upon more wild Demands, while they concluded, that after parting with so much, he could deny nothing, they had the Presumption to ask. And doubtless, he very much weaken'd his Interest, and became less capable of asserting his Right, by permitting them to wreak their Malice upon his most faithful, courageous, and experienc'd Servants, and Counsellors. One of his dearest Friends perished on a Scaffold; some were imprison'd, others, because of the Opposition they made, were unjustly excluded from their Seats in Parliament, that their presence might neither perplex their Debates, nor alter their Resolutions; many were driven into Foreign Realms, and the rest were check'd, and terrified by such Examples; and forbore to distinguish themselves by an obnoxious Vigour, and Activity.

Mr. Sheppard thinks the King might have staid at Whitehall with safety, after it was fortify'd, notwithstanding

withstanding the Tumults, by which he implies it would not have been safe, without he had fortify'd that Palace; and yet this was complain'd, of, as a ground of Terror, by the Citizens of London, and remonstrated against by the Commons, as a high breach of Privilege. *Hull* was the King's own Garrison, and the Magazine of the Arms of his Forces, which had been disbanded in the North, and he might justly take Possession of his own. *Hatham* was guilty of complicated Perfidy, and Treason; both as a Subject, and an Officer of the Train'd Bands, in seizing, and keeping it for the Parliament's use, and had thereby begun Hostilities, before ever the King advanced towards it. The Command of the *Militia*, was a Prerogative they had long look'd upon with an envious Eye, and strove to deprive him of by specious Suggestions, and restless Importunity, and at last resolved to wrest from him by Force; and to compass this, they assum'd an unprecedented Authority of putting the *Militia*, *Forts*, and *Castles*, into the Hands of Persons they could confide in, by an Ordinance of the *House*, and Voted the raising of an Army. It was then high time for his Majesty to issue out his Commissions of Array, and the whole World must absolve him, if he then set up his *Standard*, and gathered all the Strength he could, to preserve his *Imperial Dignity*, and even his *Life it self*, from such inhumane *Invaders*. When they had the Assurance to Charge the King, with making War against them; he referr'd them to the Dates of their own, and his Declarations, and Commissions, as a self-evident Confutation, of the falshood, and wickedness of such Aspersions.

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That Mr. *Sheppard* may put a further gloss upon his Argument, he bestows the Title of a *little Army*, on the King's Guards, the Nobility and Gentlemen of his Household, and those who in the general Defection resorted to him, and resolved to perform their Duty, and embark in the Royal Cause at the utmost hazard. Tho' Mr. *Sheppard* magnifies their Number so excessively to serve a turn, by a modest Computation, it was not greater than our Monarchs are often attended by, in any publick, and magnificent Progress, in a time of profound Peace. Could he imagine the King so tame, and improvident, to refuse, or discountenance the tender of their Allegiance, and Assistance, upon the melancholy Prospect of the Evils that were approaching; at that Juncture when the House had armed the whole City of *London* for their Security? Once more, the King is declar'd Culpable, and the Author of the War, for refusing the Propositions of Peace sent the second of *June* 1642. Let but any Friend to Monarchy, and the establish'd Church, examine those Propositions, and tell me, whether his Majesty could have comply'd with them in Conscience, and Honour? He must have left Religion, to be modell'd according to their own humorous Conceits; he must have divested himself of all Authority, and retain'd nothing but the Name of a King, being obliged to execute their Orders; he must basely have delivered up his most dutiful Subjects, and most approved Ministers, to their merciless Rage, as Malignants, and Delinquents. How then shall those Miscreants be acquitted in the Sight of God, or Man, who purposely contrived such Terms, as could not be accepted, by so wise and virtuous a Prince, without

out being willfully Accessory, to his own, and his Kingdom's Ruin.

The Fable of my Lord *Digby*, Colonel *Lunsford*, &c. is trump't up afresh, to finish the Accusation of the King's beginning the War, the Reader is desired to consult my Lord *Clarendon*, for a full Refutation of this Calumny. My Lord *Digby* went in his Coach and Six to *Kingston*, to confer with some Officers of the Army, and return'd back without Noise, or Tumult; when the House was so incens'd against him, as to interpret it an actual levying of War, their Management was both despis'd, and abominated, by all that knew the Truth of the Story.

After all, as willing as he is to soften, and palliate the Proceedings that prepar'd the way for the King's Murder, he has not hardiness enough to avow the *Horrid Crime*. But chuses rather to Triumph in the Declaration which was sign'd by Fifty eight *Dissenting* Ministers (of the *Presbyterian* Perswasion) against it. I am extreamly pleas'd, even with their late Repentance, and wish it might have prevented that dismal Calamity, they had but too far contributed to bring upon us. I rejoice also, that some of the same Persons, and many more of their Brethren, join'd in the *Restoration*, and being convinc'd of the Unreasonableness, Sin, and Danger of their Schism, strove to repair their Errors, by returning into the Bosom of the Church, as several others have done since, and some very lately: I pity, and lament the Obstinacy of the rest, and I daily bend my Knees, to the God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to encrease the Number of true Penitents, and Converts; that there may be no longer Divisions amongst us, but that we may be Joyned together

gether, in the same Mind, and in the same Judgement. That we may lay aside all carnal Considerations, and subdue our impetuous Passions; that we may, with one Heart, and one Mouth, Glorify God, and study to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

But as Mr. Sheppard, is a *party per pale* Teacher, he cannot so clearly acquit himself of the guilt of Royal Blood, in his Capacity of a *Presbyterian*, but that he will still be answerable for it, as an *Independent*, which inexorable Sect, were forward to perpetrate the accursed Deed, and impudently gloried in it, as a brave, and meritorious Action, and therefore, I cannot think it *unjust, uncharitable, or absurd*, to admonish the present Generation of *Protestant Dissenters*, to reflect seriously upon the Guilt of the Rebellion, and the King's Martyrdom and to take heed of deriving upon themselves any share of that Guilt (as the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* did, of that which their Forefathers contracted by killing the Prophets) while they also allow the Deeds of their Ancestors, applaud their Conduct, and celebrate this Anniversary, with insulting Mirth, and licentious Entertainments, and adhere to the same Principles that produced this sad Event, and may produce others of as heinous a Nature, upon a favourable Opportunity.

And let Mr. Sheppard and those of like unquiet, and mutinous Dispositions, forbear to boast so vainly, of their present Peaceableness, and Loyalty, which is built upon a sandy Foundation, their Engagement running only *durante Beneplacito*, and the extravagant Expressions whereof, appear to be owing to a Supposition (which I hope, and believe they deceive themselves in) that the Government have an extraordinary Kindness for them,
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and that they have much greater Advantages, and Encouragements to expect. This has made their Heads giddy, and in view hereof their Hearts seem to overflow with grateful Affections; For the same Reason they are puff'd up with Pride, and Despise, reproach, and vilify, the Steady Members, and Orthodox Clergy of the establish'd Church; but as soon as their foolish Ambition shall meet with a Repulse, and their towering Enterprizes shall be baffled, and disappointed, 'tis not difficult to foretell that they will fall off from their Professions, and their Obedience will become less Hearty, and Chearful: Nay, 'tis possible they may grow sullen, and discontented, and Meditate the overthrow of that Settlement, they would now be thought so industrious to Support. Whereas the true Churchman's Loyalty is fixed in his Soul, by virtue of a Divine Command, and therefore is not to be erased by Accidents, or Hardships.

The Words of the Excellent, and Learned Bishop *Sanderson*, are very proper for the occasion, upon which they were spoken; but Mr. *Sheppard* has dragg'd them into his Service very untowardly, and applied them to Persons, of a Character, and Behaviour, very different from those, of whom they were intended; and thereby transgress'd the Rules of Civility, and good Manners, as well as trampled upon the Obligations of Christian Charity. The design of that Judicious, and truly moderate Man, in the Sermon, from whence he borrowed the Passage, was, if possible, to heal the Wounds of a bleeding Church, and calm the Rage of a seduced People; to stop the Contentions, that had disturb'd our Peace, and were every Day encreasing; before they had compleated our Desolation. And for this purpose he chose to draw a Parallel, between the strong and weak Christians

Christians St. Paul addresses himself to, *Rom. 14.* and the Conformists, and Nonconformists of that Age, and urges the mutual Duties enjoy'd in the Text, which was the third Verse of that Chapter, *Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not: And let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth.* But in this Parallel, he observes some very material Differences, between the Primitive weak Christians, and the Nonconformists, which might, in a great measure, disannul their Title, to Forbearance, and gentle Treatment: For the Things these Men scrupled, tho' they were indifferent in their Nature, were not so, in their use, as the Meats of the Primitive Christians were; nor could the Persons expect Favour on the Account of their Weakness, because they were not new Converts, but Men born, bred, and brought up in the Bosom of the Church, some of them had assumed the Office of Teachers, and most of them boasted of their Parts, and Abilities, and Improvement in Divine Knowledge. All reasonable Methods had been taken, to rectify their Mistakes, and inform their Judgments; besides, they had rendered themselves less excusable, by the scandalous Liberty, they had indulged themselves in, openly to Judge, and Censure, and that often in opprobrious Terms, their Conforming Brethren, who could not, in regard to that Obedience, which is due to lawful Authority, and the Oaths they had taken, and the Subscriptions they had made, forbear the Practice of those Things, for which they were condemn'd, and reproach'd: Whereas, the Primitive Christians; might, if they pleased, have avoided eating such Meats, in condescension to the Weak. So that this Behaviour of theirs in judging, (which he

reproves

reproves as too general, and too much, and often among the better Sort of them) cannot be cleared of Usurpation, Rashness, Uncharitableness, and Scandal; he adds, "Tho' they thus injuriously Upbraid us, we do not Despise them, I mean with allowance from the Church, if particular Men do more than they should, it is their own private Fault, and ought not to be imputed to us, or our Church." But then he reminds us, that when their refusal of Conformity may, by their Courses, and Proceedings, reasonably be thought, to proceed from corrupt, and partial Affections, or is apparently maintain'd with Obstinacy and Contempt, then, he thinks we may, notwithstanding the Apostle's Admonition in the Text, in some sort, even *Despise them*. He next considers the Grievances, they complain'd of, and first their being scoffed at, and derided, by loose Companions, and profane, or *popishly* affected Persons; and here he begs the Nonconformists to reflect, whether their stiff, and unreasonable Opposition against lawful Ceremonies, did not confirm *Rapists* in their Superstitions, and says, "As he could wish that they and their Lay-Followers, by their uncouth, and sometimes ridiculous Behaviour, had not given profane Persons too much Advantage to play upon them, and through their Sides to Wound, even Religion it self; so he could wish also, that some Men by unreasonable, and unjust, other some by unseasonable, and indiscreet Scoffing at them, had not given them Advantage to Triumph in their own Innocency, and persist in their affected *Obstinacy* (which last Clause Mr. Sheppard wisely drop'd out of his Quotation) *we all know, &c.*" This Passage was expressly levelled against loose
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and profane ones, that make it their Sport, upon their Ale-houses, to rail, and scoff at Puritans. And he ascribes the increase of Puritans, not so much to any sufficiency themselves conceive in their own Grounds, as to the Disadvantage of some profane, or scandalous, or idle, or ignorant, or indifereet Opposers, and such he afterwards calls *Rascals*. Now could this Meek, and Humble Man, be supposed to hint at any of his Brethren of the Clergy, in the dissatisfaction he expresses at *some Men's* Behaviour? But Mr. Sheppard, as a lasting Testimony of his singular *Modersty*, has thus perverted his meaning, by a notorious, and most dissingenuous Misapplication, and spread his own intemperate, and ill-natur'd Slanders, under the Umbrage of so Venerable an Authority.

The Bishop goes on to remove another Objection, that they were not kindly confer'd with, in order to reform their Understandings. And tells them, They Sing the same Note an hundred Times over, and require further Satisfaction, after so many publick, and unanswerable Satisfactiones already given; and a little after objects to them, on their Part, the over-valuing themselves as the only *Godly*; and censuring, and condemning, in the most scurrilous, and reviling Terms, the Church, the Bishops, the Conforming Ministers, and all that oppose their Novelties, or are not of their Stamp. Of which he produces several Instances; and concludes with an Exhortation to charitable Affections, due Obedience, and a conscionable Care, to walk faithfully, painfully, and peaceably, in their several Callings. I wish those who pry into the Writings of that Judicious Man, to pick up Cavills, or to make him, contrary to his Intention, the Advocate of a bad Cause,

Cause, and accuser of his Brethren, would resolve upon reading, his *Obligation of Oaths*, and *Conscience*, and Sermons, with Attention, and Impartiality; and I should hope for more desirable Consequences, than transcribing a Sentence, or two, and depraving them, by fixing a Sense upon them, widely different from that which they bear, in the Authors Acceptation; I should hope, I say, That the force of his Reasoning, would encline them to embrace the Doctrine he Defends, and that his pious Instructions, and Persuasions would prevail with them, to imitate his exemplary Humility, and innocency of Life.

I have now gone through Mr. Sheppard's Abstract, and however he may be enamour'd of his own Production, or whatever Panegyrics he, or his Friends may bestow upon it, (which his Modesty did not restrain him from communicating to the World in so Publick a manner) I cannot Complement him so far, at the expence of Truth, and Justice, as to Subscribe to such undeserved Praises; but must declare, that instead of Modesty, and Solidity, there appear most pregnant Evidences of the contrary Qualities, in this Discourse. Our Clergy are causelessly reflected on, matters of Fact are insincerely related, many Truths are concealed, many direct Falshoods are asserted, and the tendency of the whole, is to revive old Disputes, and involve us in fresh Quarrels. I will not Despair, but that Mr. Sheppard himself if he is not Proof against Conviction, may, upon a sedate review of the Course he has taken, become sensible of his Fault, and retract his uncharitable Censures. However, I cannot but perswade myself, that the truly moderate, and peaceable Dissenters, will be ready to disclaim such pragmatical proceedings, and that, as we live in a quiet Neighbourhood, and they are contented with the Indulgence

gence they enjoy, and we repine not at their Liberty, they will not Suffer themselves to be transported, to any unwarrantable Excesses, nor by their Approbation, or Assistance, add Fuel to the Flame, this turbulent, Man is eager to enkindle amongst us, but will take all prudent Measures, to smother, and extinguish it.

A warm Indignation occasion'd by the injury that was offer'd to the Memory of the Blessed Martyr, and a sense of the Duty incumbent upon us, to vindicate our Religious Observation of the Day on which he suffer'd, engag'd me thus far in Controversy, to which I have a particular Aversion. I hope, what I have said, will place the Truth in so clear a light, that honest, and well-meaning Men, will not be liable to be imposed upon, by Mr. Sheppard's partial, and in several respects spurious Memoirs, and that I shall obviate the Mischiefs, that might otherwise have flow'd, from so invidious a Publication.

POST-SCRIPT

SINCE these REMARKS were drawn up, Mr. Sheppard has employed more than four Pages, of two separate Journals, in Additions to the account of his Sermon. But as these seem, not to have been intended, in his first Plan, but, are the result of some After-thoughts, I shall not concern my self with them, further, than to caution the Reader, against any implicit Reliance, on Mr. Sheppard's Veracity, in his Historical Part. It may reasonably be concluded, that he brought his chosen Forces into the Field, upon the first Encounter, and if these are defeated, the second Charge will not be very formidable. The Journal of the 16th of February, contains more black Accusations against the Royal Martyr, and the Clergy. If I have shown that those I have already confuted, were Groundless, or Trivial, and by no means sufficient to excuse the crying Sins of Rebellion, and Parricide, I shall entreat the Reader, to take my Word, that the rest are of no greater Weight, nor have any better Foundation of Truth, until he can satisfy himself, by a more particular view of the History.

F. I. N. I. S.